LETTER

OF

Libertal Novat TRAVA

CONSOLATION

T O

Dr. SHEBBEARE.

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FROM
THE BEQUEST OF
EVERT JANSEN WENDELL
1918

: MOGANON

Prince for R. Casa, to the Mary Last 1230

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LETTER

OF

CONSOLATION

TO

Dr. SHEBBEARE.

SIR,

A S the Unhappy are entitled to Compassion, and Distress of every Kind affords a just Claim to Commiseration, you cannot be offended at any Attempt to remove the Inquietude of Mind that may been occasioned by your late Sentence, or at my endeavouring to alleviate the Smart, by pouring in the Balm of Consolation. Misfortunes brought upon ourselves by Rashness and Folly, are too often treated with Neglect, and even with Ridicule; but the Man of true Humanity will feel for Distress however it is occasioned; and the compassionate Judge B

will ever be fensible of the tender Emotions of Pity for the Criminal whom he is obliged, by the Laws of Humanity, as well as those of his Country, to condemn.

From these Considerations, Sir, you may expect all the Candour, and all the Lenity, that your Situation demands, and I shall not disappoint these just Expecta-I am not afraid to fay, that I have a warm, an ardent Love of Liberty. This I confider as the invaluable Privilege of every Briton; a Privilege purchased by the Blood and Treasures of our Ancestors; and which, I hope, in Spite of all Opposition, will be handed down to our latest Posterity. A considerable Branch of this inestimable Bleffing is the Liberty of the Press, which ought to be ever facred; and every Attempt to suppress it, will be refented by a free People.

In this every honest Briton will agree with me. But it may be necessary here to consider more attentively the Nature of Liberty, and in what this Blessing, so justly dear to every Man born in this happy Island, must consist. Civil Liberty then, is the free Power of doing every Thing we please, that is not inconsistent with

with the Laws which we ourselves have made by our Representatives; or, in other Words, the free Power of doing what is neither inconfiftent with the Tranquility and Happiness of the State, or of any Individual: For none can pretend that he has a Right to violate the Laws, to raise a Sedition, to plunder or cut the Throat of his Neighbour, whenever he pleases: A Man is indeed left at Liberty to do what he chuses; but if he abuses this Freedom, by committing a Robbery or Murder, none will condemn the Laws which bring him to Justice. Thus, by the Liberty of the Press, we have the Power of communicating our Thoughts to the Public, on any Subject, without our being obliged to subject them to the Inspection of a Licencer of the Press; but if we abuse this Liberty, by endeavouring to debauch the Morals of the People, or to raife an Insurrection, none sure will blame the Government for interposing, and preventing the People from being deluded by Falshood and Calumny, and inflamed by Sedition. The Liberty of the Press has therefore its Limits, like Liberty of Action; it cannot give us a Right to violate the Laws, to strive to overturn a Frame of Government the most B 2 perfect perfect and excellent, or to incite the People to rife in Rebellion against Measures in themselves the most wisely adapted to promote the general Happiness. Thus while a Person is justly hable to be punished for faying any Thing to the Prejudice of the meanest Tradesman, or the lowest Mechanic, it cannot be thought an Injury to the Liberty of the Press, to punish one who has, in Print, defamed and misrepresented, in the groffest Manner, all who have been concerned in the Government for these feventy Years past, who snatched the Laurels won by our Patriots and Generals, and offered the most virulent and invenomed Abuse, the most flagrant Insults on his present Majesty, and his royal Father.

You will be apt to imagine, that I have now rambled far from my Subject; but the above Definitions of Liberty are only given, to shew you what little Reason you have to complain of Severity; and to afford you the high Satisfaction and Comfort you must certainly feel, when you restect what would have been your dreadful Fate, had you lived in the Reign of the Stuarts, when, according

to you, Liberty and Happiness shone in all their Lustre.

In those bleffed, in those desirable Times, fo much extolled by you, there was not the least Shadow of this Liberty, which is now enjoyed in its fullest Extent. In the Reign of Charles I. * a Decree was made in the Star-Chamber to this Effect. " That none shall presume " to print any Book or Pamphlet what-" foever, unless it be first licensed by the " Archbishop of Canterbury, or the Bi-" shop of London for the Time being, " or by their Appointment; and within " the Limits of either University, by the " Chancellor or Vice-Chancellor thereof; " upon Pain that every Printer, fo of-" fending, shall for ever thereafter be dis-" abled to exercise the Art of Printing, " and shall suffer such farther Punishment, " as by this Court, or the High Com-" mission, shall be thought fitting; that " before any Books, imported from fo-" reign Parts, shall be exposed to Sale, a " true Catalogue of them shall be pre-" fented to the Archbishop of Canterbury, " or the bishop of London: And that no " Officer of the Customs shall deliver

* In July, 1637.

" any foreign Books out of their Cuftody, " before those Bishops shall have appointed one of their Chaplains, or some " other learned Man, with the Master " and Wardens of the Company of Sta-" tioners, or one of them, to be present " at the Opening of the Pack and Far-" dels, and to view the fame .--- And if " in this Search there happen to be found " any schismatical or offensive Books, " they shall be brought to the aforesaid " Bishops or the High Commission Of-" fice, that the Offenders may be punish-" ed. That no Person whatsoever shall " print in the Parts beyond Seas, or im-" port from thence, any English Books. or whereof the greater Part is English, " whether formerly printed or not; and " that no Books whatfoever shall be re-" printed, though formerly licensed, " without a new Licence first obtained, " upon Pain of the like Censure and " Punishment. And that if any Person " whatfoever, that is not an allowed " Printer, shall presume to set up a Press, " or fet and compose Letters for the same, " he shall be set in the Pillory, and " whipt through the City of London *.

^{*} Rushworth' Collection, Vol. II. p. 463.

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This, Sir, was properly, and in the strictest | Sense, destroying the Liberty of the Press; it was doing it in the most severe and effectual Manner; it was not punishing the Abuse of this Liberty, but taking away this Liberty itself. Let me congratulate you, Sir, again, that you did not live in those bleffed Times, when not one of your Six Letters would have been licensed; when none but a Madman would have committed them to the Examination of these Court Inquisitors; and when, perhaps, not one Work that you ever wrote could have been communicated to the Public, without subjecting you to Fines and Penalties of a very different Kind from those now laid upon you, and which are fo dreadful that I tremble to think of them; and of which I shall hereafter give you some Instances.

If you are really acquainted with the History of those Times which you so highly extol, and prefer to the present, you must be fully sensible that this Law against the Liberty of the Press, notwithstanding its Severity, was executed with the utmost Rigour by those who made it. They refused to licence many Books against Popery, nor would they grant a new Li-

cence for re-printing Fox's Book of Martyrs, Bishop Jewel's Works, and a Number of others.

I cannot forbear quoting a Passage from Milton's excellent Speech for the Liberty of unlicenfed Printing. Speaking of the Popish Imprimaturs, he observes, that "Sometimes five Imprimaturs are feen to-" gether dialoguewise in the Piatza of one "Title-page, complimenting and ducking each to the other with their shaven " Reverences, whether the Author, who " stands by in Perplexity at the Foot of " of his Epistle, shall to the Press or " to the Sponge. These are pretty Re-" sponsaries; these are the dear Anti-" phonies, that so bewitched of late our Prelates and their Chaplains with " the goodly Echo they made; " befotted us to the gay Imitation of " a lordly Imprimatur; one from Lam-" beth House, another from the West " End of St. Paul's; fo apishly roma-" nizing, that the Word of Command was still set down in Latin, as if "the learned grammatical Pen that " wrote it would cast no Ink without " Latin; or perhaps, as they thought, " because no vulgar Tongue was wor-" thy

"thy to express the pure Conceit of an Imprimatur; but rather, as I hope, for that our English, the Language of Men ever famous and foremost in the Atchievements of Liberty, will not easily find service Letters enow to spell such a dictatory Presumption englished."

The printing without a Licence was esteemed a Crime of the greatest Magni-tude. John Warton and John Lilburne, who afterwards, you know, made a confiderable Figure by oppofing even Cromwell himself, were brought to the Star-Chamber, and examined on their printing, contrary to the abovementioned Decree; when refusing to take an Oath to answer all the enfnaring Questions that might be asked them, to make them condemn themselves, they were sentenced to go back to the Fleet Prison, and there to remain till they complied with the Orders of the Court; to pay, not Five Pounds, but Five Hundred Pounds each to his Majesty, and to be bound with Sureties for their good Behaviour. merciful Court further decreed, that Lilburne should be not only pillored, but whipt through the Streets from the Fleet Prison

Prison, to a Pillory placed between Westminster hall Gate and the Star-Chamber; and after standing in the Pillory, be returned to the Fleet, there to remain according to the Decree.

These Punishments, fitter for Russian Boors, used from their Infancy to the Whip, than for Englishmen who had been trained up under mild Laws, and a gentle Government, were executed with the utmost Rigor on Lilburne, a Man of a genteel Family, and far above the Vulgar in point of Understanding. He was smartly whipt from the Fleet to Westminster, which is at least a full Mile; but what makes me pity him the more, he had, like you, Doctor, an unconquerable Spirit; for while he was undergoing this long and dreadful Flagellation, he uttered many bold Speeches against the Tyranny of Bishops; and while his Head was in the Hole of the Pillory, he scattered several Copies of Pamphlets, which he took out of his Pocket, and toffed among the People. But the Audacity of this Proceeding so exasperated the Court of Star-Chamber, which was then fitting, that they caused him to be gagged during the remaining Time

Time he stood in the Pillory, and decreed that he should be laid alone, with Irons on his Hands and Legs, in the Wards of the Fleet, where the basest and meanest Sort of Prisoners were, at that Age confined *.

O Shebbeare! happy art thou, that this is not the Reign of Charles the First! Thank God that the Times are altered, and that thou livest not in the Times thou so highly commendest; but in that Reign which thou so bitterly revilest.

But this Instance, shocking as it is, is mild and gentle, in comparison of others I have to mention, in the same admired Reign; and which you, Sir, must approve, if you approve the Measures of that Administration, though you yourself have the greatest Reason to rejoice, that you are not made the Victim of such Cruelty. The Sufferings of Leighton, Prynne, Bastwick, and Burton, are still read with Horror, by all who have any Sense of Compassion; and stand as eternal Monuments of the Inhumanity of the

^{*} Rushworth, Vol. II. pag. 466.
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Ministry of that applauded Reign, and of the Mercy with which you are treated in this.

In the Year 1630, Mr. Alexander Leighton was profecuted in the Star-Chamber, for writing a Book, entitled, An Appeal to the Parliament; or, Sion's Plea against Prelacy, and sentenced to be committed to the Fleet, not for three Years only, but during Life, unless his Majesty should be graciously pleased to enlarge him; to pay a Fine, not of fo trifling a Sum as Five Pounds, but TEN THOUSAND Pounds, to the King; to be degraded from the Ministry; to be brought to the Pillory at Westminster, while the Court was sitting, and there whipt; to be then fet upon the Pillory for a convenient Space, and have one of his Ears cropt off, and his Nose slir, and be branded in the Face with S. S. for a Sower of Sedition: be then carried to the Prison of the Fleet, and at fome other Time to the Pillory in Cheapfide, and be there likewise whipt; then fet upon the Pillory, and have his other Ear cut off; and from thence be carried back to the Prison of the Fleet, to remain there during Life *. Barbarous as this

^{*} Rushworth, Vol. II. p. 56.

Sentence was, it was inflicted in all its Rigour, as far as the corporal Punishment extended; but, happily for Mr. Leighton, that Gentleman who was distinguished by his Learning and Abilities, was released by the Long Parliament, from his exorbitant Fine and Imprisonment.

Rejoice, O Shebbeare! that thou livest in a Reign, in which such Cruelty is unknown. If thou preferrest such an Administration as that I have just mentioned, to the mild, the gentle Government, under which we live, thy Nose unslit, and undeformed; thy Ears, which still remain on thy Head, and thy Back still untorn by cruel Stripes, will witness thine Ingratitude.

The next Instance I shall give for your Consolation is, that of Mr. William Prynne, who afterwards distinguished himself by opposing Cromwell, and in contributing to the Restoration.

This Gentleman was an eminent Lawyer, and like you, Doctor, a very voluminous Author. In the Year 1632, he wrote his *Histrio Mastix*, which was licensed

censed by Archbishop Abbot's Chaplain: but even this Licence could not fave the Author: for it being against Plays, and there being a Reference in the Contents to this Effect, Women Actors notorious Whores. relating to some Women Actors, mentioned in his Book; it unfortunately happened, that about fix Weeks after, the Queen acted a Part in a Pastoral at Somerset - bouse; upon which Archbishop Laud, and some other Prelates, who had been offended at his Works, the very Day after the Queen had acted her Part, shewed the Book to the King, and pointed out the Article in the Contents, Women Actors notorious Whores, perfuaded the King and Queen that Prynne had written the Book against her Majesty and her Pastoral, though it was published fix Weeks before the Paf-Their Majesties, howtoral was acted. ever, directed nothing against him, till Laud set Dr. Heylin to examine his Works, in order to collect all the offenfive Passages they contained; and this being done, he was committed Prisoner to the Tower on the 1st of February, 1632-3 +, and on the 17th of February,

⁺ Whitlock's Memorials of the English Affairs, page 18.

ber to be expelled the University of Oxford, and Lincoln's Inn, degraded and diffenabled from the Profession of the Law; fined Five Thousand Pounds to the King; ordered to stand in the Pillory, first in Palace-Yard, Westminster, and three Days after in Cheapside, in each to lose an Ear; to have his Histrio Mastix publicly burnt before his Face by the Hand of the Hangman, and to remain in Prison during Life.

This inhuman Sentence was executed in May 1634, and Mr. Gerrard, in his Letter to the Lord Deputy Wentworth, fays*, that while he stood in the Pillory in Cheapside, he was almost suffocated by his Volumes that were burnt under his Nose.

Rejoice and be exceeding glad, O Shehbeare! no such enormous Sum is demanded of thee; thy Ears are safe, and thou art in no Danger of Suffocation by the burning of thy Works; nor will the hard and cruel Fate of this voluminous Writer

TWEee Heylin's Life of Arthorhood Laud.

^{*} Strafforde's Letters, Vol. I. p. 261.

ever be thine, while a GEORGE fits on the Throne of Great Britain! The Family thou hast so grossy abused, will ever be the Guardians of Liberty, and have too much Goodness to trample upon a Worm.

But we have not yet done with Mr. Prynne. After this bloody Sentence was executed, he was remitted to Prison, where, as foon as he could procure Pen, Ink, and Paper, he wrote a very fevere Letter to Archbishop Laud, on his Sentence in the Star-Chamber. This again awakened the Resentment of that angry Prelate; who again complaining to the King, his Majesty commanded him to refer it to Noy, the Attorney-General. Noy fent for Prynne, and demanded whether the Letter was of his Hand-writing or not; but he defiring to fee it, like a Manof Spirit tore it to Pieces, and threw the Pieces out of the Window, which for that Time prevented a farther Profecution *,

He had, however, like you, Sir, the Itch of Writing, and a Talent at finding Fault. In 1635, 1636, and 1637, he

^{*} See Heylin's Life of Archbishop Laud.

published several Books, particularly one; entitled, News from Ipswich, in which he reslected very grosly on the Archbishop and others of the Bishops; for which, on the 14th of sune, 1637, he was sentenced in the Star-Chamber to pay Five Thousand Pounds to the King, to lose the Remainder of his Ears in the Pillory, to be branded on both Cheeks with the Letters S. L. for a Schismatical Libeller, and to be perpetually imprisoned in Gaernarvon Castle.

Happy, thrice happy, Shebbeare! let me repeat again, that from the mild, the humane, and gentle Government under which you live, you have been in no Danger of these barbarous and savage Severities. Though, like Prynne, you have been twice called in question, yet, like him, you have not been twice cropped, your Ears are still unmangled, and those Organs are not, by a fecond Operation, pared close to your Head. Your Cheeks are in no Danger of being scorched and feared by the glowing, burning iron; and though they have not blushed at extolling those Days of Cruelty, and prefering them to these Times, when Mercy reigns; reigns; yet no artificial Blush has been raised in them by a painful Inflammation. They are still undeformed, you are still unbranded, and no L. I. for Libeller and Incendiary have disgraced your comely Visage.

In the Year 1637, Bastwick, a Doctor of Physic, having printed a Pamphlet, called, Flagellum Episcoporum Latialium, in which he reflected on the Bishops; and also a Litany, in pursuit of the same Defign, was brought into the Star-Chamber; as was the Reverend Mr. Henry Burton, Rector of St. Matthew's, in Friday-street, London, for having, on the 5th of November, 1636, preached in his own Church two Sermons, published afterwards under the Title of, Fear God and the King. These Gentlemen were closely confined, and proceeded against in the Star-Chamber at the same Time with Mr. Prynne, just mentioned, and jointly drew up an Answer; but could get no Counfel to fign it, through Fear of the Court; and though they petitioned for Liberty in their Counsels Default, to put in their Answers under their own Hands, yet they were refused; and were also denied the the Liberty of exhibiting a Cross-Bill against Laud and his Adherents. Thus no legal Answer being put in, nor filed on Record, the Court, on the 14th of June, 1637, began, for this pretended Contempt, to proceed to Sentence: But the Defendants before the Court spake, cried out for Justice, that their Answers might be read, and that they might not be condemned unheard. Nevertheless, because their Answers were not filed on Record. the Court proceeded to give Sentence. That of Prynne has been already mentioned; the two others were also fined each in 50001. degraded from their Functions, and Degrees in the University; ordered to be fet in the Pillory, and to have both their Ears cut off; to be confined to perpetual close Imprisonment, Bastwick in the Castle of Launceston, in Cornwall, and Burton in the Castle of Lancaster: to be debarred the Access of their Wives and Friends, or any other except their Keepers, and denied the Use of Pen, Ink and Paper.

This monstrous Sentence, so illegally passed, was executed, though Mr Burton's Parishioners sent a Petition to the King D 2 figned

figned by fixty of their Names, to intreat for his Pardon and Liberty; but this was fo far from having any Weight, that the two Gentlemen who delivered it were committed for their Pains. A few Days after the End of the Term, two Pillories were erected in the Palace-Yard, and there the Sentence against Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick was read. They stood two Hours in the Pillory, Burton by himfelf, who had been degraded three Days before in the High Commission-Court. The Place was full of People who cried and lamented terribly; and what added to their Grief and Horror, the Execution was performed with fuch Barbarity, and the Rev. Mr. Burton was pared so close, that the temporal Artery was cut, which made the Blood stream in great Abundance upon the Scaffold: And yet he shewed fuch Courage as not to shrink at the Pain. Dr. Bastwick was very merry; and told the People, that the Lords had their Collar-Days at Court, and this was his. Wife, got a Stool, and mounting up kiffed him; and his Ears being cut off, she called for them, put them into a clean Handkerchief, and carried them away, as the precious Relicks of a Husband whom the

she was never to see more *. These three unhappy Gentlemen were afterwards removed from the above Places of Confinement, far from their Friends, to the Islands of Jersey, Guernsey, and Scilly: However, they were all set at Liberty about three Years after, by an Order of Parliament.

O Doctor! do not your Ears tingle at these savage Instances of Cruelty? Can you avoid sympathising with Men of Reputation and Learning, thus basely, ignominiously, cruelly treated? You also have a Wife and Children; how would you bear to be fentenced never to fee them more; to be deprived of all focial Converse, and after having your Person thus mutilated, to be condemned to languish out the Remainder of your Life in the folitary Gloom of a Prison. Happy Shebbeare! I congratulate you for living under a Government incapable of Cruelty, and under a Sovereign too good to be actuated by that Resentment that might have rendered your Life a continued Scene of Mifery. You are happy in living in a Reign where

^{*} Rushworth's Collections. Vol. I. Part 2. and Fuller's Church-History.

Liberty is enjoyed in its fullest Extent by every Briton, and where you yourfelf have experienced to what Lengths the most licentious Sallies of the Pen may be carried. The above Writers were all of them Men of Reputation, and were thus feverely punished, not for abusing the Sovereign, and defaming his Administration; but for lashing the Bishops; what then would have been your Punishment, had you in that Reign thus infulted the Crown itself; and in your Invectives paid no Regard to Truth or Decency? Had you thus uttered all the Gall of Malice, and all the Venom of impotent Rage? Poor Shebbeare! Had that been the Case, I should have pitied you; I should have sympathized in your Tortures, and have joined with your miserable Wife, your Son and Daughters in lamenting your Sufferings. But rejoice, Sir! and receive Consolation! Your Punishment is light and transitory, and you have it still in your Power to be happy,

I shall add another Instance or two, to shew the Severity with which Offenders were treated in that reign. "I remem-"ber, says Osborne, after Felton had given the fatal Blow to George Duke of Buck-"ingham, " ingham, one Savil *, formerly burnt " in the Shoulder for a Rogue, (finding " how acceptable the News was where-" ever it came) gave out he was the Man " who did it; and that, tho' an honour-" able Person's Brother, he wanted Mo-" ney to convey him away; upon which " he was apprehended, and, though not " worth a Groat, fined a confiderable " Sum in the Star-Chamber; to which " the Wisdom, Equity, and Justice of " that Court added (because they wanted " Power to hang him) this corporal Pu-"nishment, viz. That he should be " whipped from the Fleet, where he lay . "Prisoner, to the Pillory in Westminster " Palace-yard, there to be, for two Hours, " with his Ears nailed, and after to lose " one Ear, have his Nose slit, and then " to be branded in the Forehead; all " which, as long as the Bowels of Hu-" manity would give me Leave, I looked " upon. Nor was this more than half " his Punishment, as much being to be " done to him in Cheapside; but that " (as I heard) the King, more charitable

^{*} Or, Savage, for so he called himself; but his true Name was Heron.

[&]quot; than

" than his Judges, did pardon it; though his perpetual Residence in Bridewell

" was not remitted, till for another Thing

" (some thought unlikely to be done in

" fuch a Restraint) he was hanged at Ty-

" burn *.

See, O Shebbeare! the horrible Punishment inflicted for no other Crime but lying; for a single Lye; which however impudent, could hurt Nobody but the Man himself. Rejoice then at the Mildness of your Fate, for had the present wise and merciful Administration behaved with equal Rigour, what would have become of you who have invented and printed a thousand! Of you, who have never wrote one true Fact without misrepresenting it, in order to deceive and inflame the People, against the most respectable Personages.

In the same glorious and merciful Reign, one Walker for libelling his Neighbour, and accusing him of stealing of Wool, was committed to the Fleet during Life, fined a thousand Pounds, ordered to be set in the Pillory twice, at each Time to

^{*} Osborn's Works, pag. 690.

have an Ear cut off, and to pay the Plaintiff five hundred Marks Damage *.

And Bowyer for flandering Laud as an Arminian and a Papist, was ordered by the Court to be committed to Bridewell, there to be kept to hard Labour during Life, and never suffered to go Abroad, fined three thousand Pounds; to be twice fet in the Pillory with his Ears nailed to it; to be obliged to confess his Offence, and to be branded in the Forehead with the Letters L.R.

Rejoice O Shebbeare! I cannot help repeating, rejoice and be exceeding glad, that thou livest in a Reign where such Crimes are not punished with the like brutal and more than savage Cruelty: Rejoice that the thou hast more basely defamed and vilified the Father of thy Sovereign, thou art not punished as Walker was for slandering his Neighbour. Rejoice, that thou who hast represented the Revolution, in Consequence of which his present Majesty sits on the Throne

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^{*} Rushworth's Collections, Appendix, pag. 60.

as the greatest Curse that could befal this Nation, art not punished even as this Bowyer, who barely, by his Lips, defamed a refentful Prelate. No three thousand Pounds, a much more enormous Sum then, than it is at present, is demanded of thee. To the Pillory on which thou hast been plac'd, thine Ears were not nailed, thy Forehead is unbranded; and thou art not condemned to wear out a wretched Life in beating Hemp in Bridewell. I rejoice with thee, that thou livest in a Reign, in which the Sentences inflicted by the Laws are dictated by Mercy and Pity, and not by Cruelty and a mean Revenge. that this is the Reign of George and not of Charles; a Prince of the House of Hanover, of that House which thou wickedly termest the Presbyterian Messiah, and not of the Family of Stuart.

The Reign of King Charles the Second, was little less severe with Respect to the Sentences passed on those who offended the Court. Indeed, instead of the savage Custom, slitting of Noses, cutting off Ears, branding in the Cheeks or Forehead, and other Inhumanities practised upon those who were guilty of the most trisling Offences:

fences; the Law was stretched to inslict still larger Fines; and on other Occasions instead of torturing the supposed Criminal by such disgraceful Sufferings, Pretences were found, for putting him to Death. The Liberty of the Press was held in Chains, and the smallest Excess in the Liberty of Speech surn shed with the utmost Rigour.

Mr. Pilkington, Sheriff of London, when the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen took the Refolution to wait on the Duke of York with their Compliments of Congratulation on his Return from Scotland, not only refused to give his Attendance, but rashly faid, The Duke of York has fired the City, and is now come to cut our Throats. Two of his Brother Aldermen, Hooker and Tulfe, had the Honour of being Witnesfes against him; and so forward were the Juries now become, fays Mr. Echard, that they found a Verdict for the Plaintiff; and in Defiance of Magna Charta, gave no less than a hundred thousand Pounds Damages, which shews, that the utter Ruin of this Gentleman and his Family was aimed at; and to prevent it, he was forced to surrender himself a Prisoner in Ex-E 2 ecution ecution, in Discharge of his Bail, without a Prospect of Redemption.

See, O Shebbeare! the Severity used against an Alderman and Sheriff of London, for the Crime of barely speaking less than thou hast printed and dispersed all over the Kingdom; in Relation to the Family of your most gracious Sovereign. What could you expect, when the Laws were thus stretched to punish a Magistrate of this Metropolis in so rigorous a Manner? Rejoice, O rejoice, that you are not fined in fo enormous a Sum, as would for ever exclude you the Rules of the King's Bench; deprive you of the Pleasure of breathing the fresh Air of St. George's Fields, and oblige you to end your Days within the Walls of that Prison. Rejoice and receive Confolation; for this is one of the Bleffings you receive from the Revolution, which you have painted or rather daubed with fuch odious Colours.

It would be unpardonable should I here omit, as a Motive to Consolation, the Treatment Algernon Sidney, the second Son of the Earl of Leicester, met with in the same

fame Reign. This great Man was arraigned for High-Treason at the King's-Bench Bar on the 7th of November, 1683, by the Lord Chief Justice Feffreys. Sir. John Hawkins observes *, that when he came into the Hall, the Indictment was so far from being found by the Grand-Jury, that it was not fo much as prefented to them; but the King's Council who had packed the Jury, knew well enough, that it would be accepted, that is found upon Sight by the Jury, without any Confideration, which was accordingly done. The Indictment was for defigning to oppose the King, and perfuading the King's Subjects to rebel; and writing a certain Libel, wherein it was contained, that he (meaning King Charles the Second) is subject to the Laws of God as he is a Man, and to the People who made him, as he is, a King. To this Indictment he would have put in some Exceptions expressed in a Parchment in his Hand, but this was refused. On the 21st of November he was tried, at which Time he infifted on his having a Copy of his Indictment, as he

^{*} Remarks upon the Tryal of Edward Fitzharris, Stephen Colledge, &c. Edit. 1686. pag. 76.

had done when he was arraigned; but was both Times denied; as was also his defire of having the Benefit of Council, and the Jury being called over, he excepted to several for not being Freeholders; but this Exception was also over-ruled. The Witnesses brought to prove him guilty of defigning to oppose the King, had, all but one, nothing to alledge but Hearfay, and yet their pretended Evidence was fummed up and urged with the basest Invectives, as Evidence to the Jury; and the only Evidence brought to the Fact, was the Lord Howard, who had been guilty of feveral Treasons, and had not been pardoned, who owed him a confiderable Sum upon a Mortgage, which Debt Col. Sidney alledged might probably be cancelled by his Conviction, and to invalidate his Evidence, that Gentleman brought several noble Witnesses to prove, that his Lordship had not only denied his knowing any Thing of any such Plot; but had fometime after confessed, that he could not get his Pardon, until he had done some other Jobs, and till be had passed through the Drudgery of Swearing. As to the Manuscript, upon which great Stress was laid, it was not published; but only found in his

his Closet, and this was the first Indictment of High Treason upon which any Man loft his Life for writing any Thing without publishing it. It had no Relation to King Charles II. The Words in the Indictment were even unfairly quoted, and it was not even proved that he wrote it, but only that the Writing was like his Hand; yet from this Manuscript, which was a part of his excellent Discourses on Government now univerfally admired; and from the Testimony of only one Witness, and that a Man of no Principles, was the great, and the brave Algernon Sidney, fentenced to die by a packed Jury, and his Head was cut off on the 7th of December 1683, when about 66 Years of Age.

Blush, O Britain, and be astonished, O ye Judges of the Earth! how have they who sat in the Seat of Judgment trampled on the Laws and despised Justice! Innocence and Truth hung down their Heads, and Virtue afforded no Protection to the Righteous.

Think O Shebbeare! for a Moment what would have been thy Fate, hadst thou had

had such a Judge and such a Jury! Dost, thou regret that this is not the Reign of a King like Charles the Second? Had that been the Case, thou mightest long ere this have been dragged on a Sledge from Newgate to Tyburn, and thy Quarters might now have—I will not name it—May our Gates never be loaded with such Ornaments; but may we have always Judges like thine, who mingle Mercy with Justice, and strive to reform rather than to punish.

It would be a tedious and an irksome Task for me to run through all the Instances of Cruelty and Injustice practifed in that Reign under the Form of Law, in which the Liberty of the Press, or the Liberty of the Subject were invaded in such a Manner as to disgrace our Annals.

I now come Sir! to the Reign of a King for whom you feem to have a peculiar Esteem, and to regret that his Son does not now sway the British Sceptre. You will here also see that Virtue and Innocence afforded no Protection, and that

the most trisling Offence given to the Court was punished with Death.

In the Year 1685, one Mrs. Gaunt, a Woman of great Piety, Virtue and Humanity, had in the Reign of Charles II. given great Offence by being perpetually employed in Acts of Charity and Goodness to such as fell under the Resentment of the Government, and therefore was now, in the Reign of James the Second, capitally indicted for compaffing the Death of the late King, by harbouring, concealing, aiding, comforting, &c. one Burton who afferted that he had been concerned in the Rye-house Plot, knowing him to be a Traytor. Burton himfelf was produced as a Witness against her, and fwore she had twice procured him a Veffel to make his Escape, and had given him Money to help to bear his Charges: Burton's Wife and Daughter were the other Witnesses; but neither of them could be brought to fwear, that the Prisoner knew Burton was in any Plot. or even that his Name was in any Proclamation: Nor did it appear, that she had ever harboured him, or given him Meat and Drink as the Indicament alledged.

ledged. She was however found guilty, and received Sentence to be burnt alive; which was executed accordingly; and this she underwent with a Resignation, Chearfulness, and even Magnanimity, that amazed her very Enemies.

O Shebbeare! if thou hast the Senfibilities a Man, lament this unhappy Woman, burnt alive for affording Affiftance to a Man in tress! Is this one of the Reigns thou admirest, and preferrest to the present; a Reign in which it was a Crime to be virtuous, humane, and charitable? O rejoice that thou hast not offended fuch a Prince, and fuch Judges; if thou hadft, thou would have fome Years ago died by an ignominious and horrid Execution, and I should not have now the Pleasure of writing thee this friendly Letter of Confolation.

To this above Instance let me, Sir, add that of the Lady Liste, who was indited for harbouring Mr. John Hicks, a Nonconformist Minister, who had befought her Protection, which she generously

nerously granted. There was not the least Proof upon the Trial that she knew of his having ferved under Monmouth, and the Lady herfelf affured the Court that she did not. However, though a Woman, and unverted in the Laws, she was allowed no Council, and Judge Feffreys fentenced her to be hanged; after which, the King was fo obdurate, that when petitioned to respite her Execution but only four Days, he absolutely refused to respite it for one, though he condescended to change her Sentence from that of hanging to beheading. This Lady was upwards of seventy Years of Age, and her Behaviour at her Death was worthy the Innocence and Piety of her Life.

You see, Sir, how Virtue and Humanity were, in this Reign, capitally punished! and if you have the smallest Portion of these Accomplishments,—Accomplishments which are absolutely necessary to form the Character of a Patriot, and even of an honest Man, let me persuade you no longer to preach up the Family of the Stuarts,

but to obey the Calls of Virtue, Humanity, and Gratitude, and to wish well to a Family that has treated you, though guilty, better than your once favourite Kings treated the Innocent and Virtuous, even of the Fair Sex, who happened to offend them.

I shall pass over the rest of the vast Multitude of the other Cruelties practised by Jeffreys, as well as the scandalous Trial, Condemnation, and Execution of Mr. Cornish, one who had been an Alderman and Sheriff of this Metropolis; but had been illegally turned out of his Office by the late King; and shall conclude this Account of the Sufferings under the Reigns of the Stuarts, with a Case that perhaps comes nearer your own, for the Sufferer was an Author.

The Reverend Mr. Johnson, who had been Chaplain to the unhappy Lord Russel about the Year 1686, published an Humble and Hearty Address to all the English Protestants in the Army, not to make themselves the Tools of the Papists, to enslave their Country, and

and subvert their Religion. Upon which the Court having discovered the Author, profecuted him in the King's Bench; and being convicted, this reverend Clergyman was, for this Offence, ientenced to stand three Times in the Pillory, and to be whipt from Newgate to Tyburn; which barbarous Sentence was aggravated (as was usual in that Reign) by the Infults and Reproaches of him who pronounced it. An Attempt was made to get the whipping Part of the Sentence remitted, by an Offer of two hundred Pounds to a Popish Priest, the most proper Advocate to address the Tyrant; but even the Priest could not prevail, for James answered, That fince Mr. John-Jon had the Spirit of Martyrdom in him, it was fit he should suffer: And indeed no Martyr ever fuffered with greater Fortitude; for we are told, in his Life prefixed to his Works, that, under the Agony of Three Hundred and Seventeen Lashes with a Cat-o'nine-Tails, he was fo far from fainting, that had he not thought it would have looked like Vain-glory, he could have fung a Pfalm with as much ComComposure and Chearfulness, as ever he had done in the Church.

O Shebbeare, if thou hast the least Spark of Gratitude, the least Love of Liberty lurking in any fecret Corner of thine Heart; the smallest Grain of that generous and noble Spirit, which fills the Breast of every honest and brave Briton, canst thou read these numerous Instances of the Baseness, the Cruelty, the Tyranny of the Princes, whose Reigns thou has preferred to that of the august Prince who sits on the Throne, without feeling thy Bosom fwell with Indignation and Shame at thy past Conduct; and without acknowledging the Lenity of thy Sentence, and rejoicing in the Happiness thou may'ft still enjoy under a King, whose Acts of Justice partake of the Tenderness of a Father.

From Murder, disguised under the Form of Law; and from the most cruel Sufferings inflicted under its Sanctions, we were delivered by King William the Third, at whose Accession the Liberty of the Pres, and all the other

other Rights of the Subject, were established upon a firmer Foundation than they had ever rested upon before. To that Prince we originally owe thefe inestimable Blessings, and to him whom you have basely represented as the vilest Monster, and have even configned to Damnation, you yourfelf originally owe the Privilege you have enjoyed of fo long writing with Impunity, and of your now being under fo mild and gentle a Sentence. The Tenderness that has been shewn you is immediately owing to the Moderation and Compassion of the House of Hanover, which . you call the Presbyterian Messiah; and to the gracious Government of his prefent Majesty, who, during so long a Reign, has never encroached on the Liberties of his People; to his present Majesty, whose brave and royal Father you have vilely represented as a Tyrant, as a perfidious and ungrateful Monster, you owe the Blessing of having no other Punishment for your Crimes, but that of being fined the inconfiderable Sum of five Pounds, of standing in the Pillory at Charing-Cross, of being imprisoned in the King's Bench three

three Years, and of giving Security for your good Behaviour for seven Years, yourself in a Bond of Five Hundred Pounds, and two Sureties in no more than Two Hundred and Fifty Pounds each. That it is no worse with you ought to be the Subject of your Joy and Gratitude.

You, Sir, observe, that "What Evils " a Stuart on the Throne of England " would have produced, can be but a " speculative Consideration at present; " however, it may be perfectly dif-" cerned what are the Bleffings which " come with a North-East Wind from " Germany, and the Effects of them were " never more conspicuous than at this " unparalleled Moment *." The Evils that would have followed by having a Stuart Family on the Trone, are however very evident; and you have Reafon to believe, from the constant Practice of that Family, with Regard to Offenders like you, some of those Evils might now have rendered you in a most miserable Situation; and of the

Bleffings

^{*} The Sixth Letter to the People of England, p. 38.

Bleffings brought by the North-East Wind, you yourself now seel the Effects. Rejoice then in these Bleffings, and in an Event that has so visibly preserved you from the lowest Degree of Misery, if not from Death.

But I would not purfue this Subject too far. I will not suppose you have not one Spark of Honour; and if you have, your Gratitude to the present Government will teach you how to act: and let me tell you, from Experience, that Gratitude is one of the most pleasing Sensations of the human Mind.

As to your past Conduct: You are sensible, I am persuaded, that the Man who has opposed the Measures of the Court, has always assumed the Name of a Patriot; and that you have not been the first who has adorned himself with this glorious Title, by defaming and opposing the most salutary Measures, and such as most evidently tended to the Honour and Happiness of the Community.

You have not been the first, who, for Want of Facts, have invented such as

are most adapted to exasperate a free People; and that, by reasoning upon these self-born Chimeras, have endeavoured to scatter about the Seeds of Sedition, and to raise a general Spirit of Discontent.

You are not the first that has perverted and misrepresented History, and disguised known Events in such a Manner, that they have no more Relation to Truth, than if they sprung originally from your own Brain, and were originally the Offspring of Falshood.

You are not the first of those who, to shew their Love for their Country, have abused all Ranks and Orders of Men; who have thrown Calumny out at Random, and treated crowned Heads, and even their own Sovereign, in grosser Terms than they would dare to treat a good lusty Porter.

If, therefore, you have no Ingenuity of Mind, your not being fingular may afford you some Consolation.

Though many of your Principles have been found fallacious, and Experience has has all along shewn, that but little, I should rather say, no Regard is to be paid to your Arguments; yet you have as much Right to maintain, propagate, and persist in your Opinions, as any other Man who afferts, with equal Assurance, what is contradicted by all History, and by daily Experience.

The brave King of Prussia, who in one of your Letters, (I think it is the fourth) you represent as a little insignisican Prince, unworthy of our Alliance, has ever since triumphed over the united Force of the three greatest Powers of Europe, assisted by the Swedes.

Our throwing off all Connection with what you infamously call, in your fixth Letter, insatiate Germans, and H—n Harpies, and joining with France, is a Proposal so repugnant to the Dictates of Common Sense, that there is not a School-boy that can read, who would not laugh at the Absurdity of the Proposal. And this Nation, which in every one of your Letters you have represented as mortgaged to H—r, involved in the most dismal Calamities, by the present

Royal Family, and on the Brink, if not already in the Gulph, of Ruin; this Nation, I fay, which you have so basely defamed, is still a brave, a flourishing, a happy, and a free People. Thanks to the Divine Providence, and the vigorous and steady Measures taken by his Majesty and the present Ministry, we have triumphed over France in the most effectual Manner; and, by ruining her Navy, taking Cape Breton, the Island of St. John, and becoming Masters of the River Senegal, in Africa, have raifed our Commerce to a greater Height than ever was known in former Ages. In short, his Majesty, whose Connections with these Kingdoms, you with such Assurance condemn, is still, in spite of all your Efforts, beloved and admired by his grateful and affectionate People.

You see, therefore, by these sew Instances, the little Effect your Letters
have had, and many more I might easily
mention; therefore in case you should
repent of having written these Pieces,
and of the innumerable Falshoods they
contain, you need not afflict yourself
too much from your Apprehension of
the Mischief they have done. This, I
hope

hope, will be a Subject of Confolation; and I give it as a proper Motive for Comfort.

Rejoice then in the Lenity of thy Fate, and be not cast down, O Shebbeare! Give Way to the Joy of thine Heart, and be filled with Consolation. Put away Bigotry, a Love of Slavery, and of Slave-makers. Detest the Memory of those Tyrants who have ruled with a Rod of Iron, and love those Princes who have been, and those who are still, the Patrons of Liberty, the Fathers of the Country, and the Friends of Mankind. May thy Breast be filled with Wisdom and Integrity, and may Truth and Candour, fweeter than Honey or the Honey Comb, flow from thy Lips and thy Pen; then shall thy Breath be as fragant as the spicy Breezes of Arabia, and the odious Smell of Slander, Defamation, and Falshood shall be forgotten. Then shall Safety and Peace compass thy Steps, and all thy Difgraces, and all thy Follies, be hid in Oblivion.